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Up from the Libertarian Party: the Houston Convention

by Murray N. Rothbard

The Republican convention at Houston was a delight for me, and for many reasons. For one thing, it was the first major party convention I had ever attended; before that, I had faithfully attended every national Libertarian Party convention (they are held biennially) from 1975 to 1989, as well as countless state LP conventions in between. Not only was the Republican shindig a delight, it was especially so in contrast to innumerable Libertarian gatherings of the past.

The Republican convention at Houston was a delight.

In the first place, Lew Rockwell and I had a front seat, in every respect, due to the good offices of dynamic young George O'Neill, chairman of the board of the Rockford Institute. George edited the daily editions of Phyllis Schlafly's Republican National Coalition for Life newsletter, and so our headquarters for the convention week was the RNC-Life headquarters.

In contrast to the wimpy Bush organization, the Schlaflyites, bless them!, are not shy about "negative campaigning" against corruption and evil, and so it was a pleasure for Lew and me to consult with Phyllis Schlafly on the evils of Hillary. In contrast to all too many groups on the Right, Schlafly's two organizations—RNC-Life and the anti-feminist Eagle Forum—have *real* members; they are not just letterheads with computerized mailing-lists, machines for generating money for the organizers. On the contrary, these two organizations have, between them, 200,000 real live and brilliantly organized members, members who are active from the local chapter to the national level.

The Schlaflyite ladies were themselves magnificently pre- feminist: that is, they were amiable and pleasant as well as efficient and hard-working. The contrast to the shrieking hippiesh harridans of the pro-abortion groups was striking.

The place to be at these conventions is not on the actual floor—where we had seats for Pat Buchanan's great Monday night talk—but at the round of "power" cocktail parties, which Lew and I attended due, once again, to George O'Neill. At the parties, I met the leading Right-wing pols and activists, as well as old Right-wing friends and acquaintances I hadn't seen since I was a Right-wing youth,

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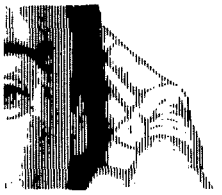

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

I'm on leave this month for something much more important than gossip—hard as all you Earians will find that to believe—having a grandbaby! ■

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(Up From The. . .cont. from pg. 1)
e.g. George Will, who recalled that in 1971 he was in his room at Oxford reading my alleged attack on Bruno Leoni for not wanting to privatize lighthouses (not true, George, I was never the lighthouse fanatic depicted by Buckley).

I also saw my old friend John O'Sullivan at no less than two of these parties (one which he himself hosted for *National Review*). John is apt to pop up at a power cocktail party anywhere on the civilized globe; in fact, on the Right, John's presence almost defines the power nature of a party.

Also met Michael Kinsley at the *National Review* party. When he heard my name, he grinned and exclaimed: "Why *you're* the Grand Old Man responsible for all this!" and he waved his hand around the room.

At the Pete DuPont reception, I had a nice talk with him about Austrian economics, and at the same party, paleolibertarian Terry Considine, Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate from Colorado against Injun Ben Campbell, exclaimed: "Murray Rothbard! It's your ideas I've been trying to put into practice."

At a lunch, Lew and I met the young leaders of Operation Rescue, who had just had a confrontation with the authorities for praying less than 100 feet from an abortion clinic in defiance of a court order. Their intensity, along with their living a life continually skirting martyrdom, reminded me of the college students of the New Left a generation ago, although it goes without saying that the Operation Rescue people were the soul of clean-cut morality in stark contrast to the orgiastic counter-culture of the New Left.

Afterwards, I ruminated on how great it was to have left the LP and rejoined the Right. In the first place, of course, one sensed that the Republican convention was a bit more important than the LP convention: a return to the real world at last! Also, the Republicans, for all their faults, were real people, with real jobs in the real world, in contrast to the aging hippies and ex-college students who people the libertarian movement and float from place to place with no jobs and no roots.

How great it was to have left the LP and rejoined the Right.

At the Republican parties, the people dressed better, and the food and drinks were a lot better, than at the LP functions. (I still remember a typical state LP convention where the official "dinner" consisted of a few crummy hors d'oeuvres while in the line for cheap wine, and the horror of realizing that none of these turkeys *thought there was anything amiss!*)

All in all, a far better class of people at Republican functions! Even the Republican crooks are crooks on a far grander and imaginative scale than the petty racketeers who abound in the LP.

More important was the realization that I personally got far more respect from the Republicans than I ever got from Libertarians. Oh sure, I was originally adulated by LPers as one of the few scholars in the party, but as soon as I launched any criticisms of strategy and tactics—as soon as I stepped down from being an icon and actually engaged in discussion or joined one faction or another—then all that disappeared quickly. In short, in contrast to Libertarians, conservatives don't insist on agreement on every aspect of life. They are willing to focus on agreement rather than disagreement, and generally to act as civilized people. That was something Libertarians, whose party is akin to a cult that brooks no criticism, could never do.

The same is all the more true of the wonderful paleoconservative scholars I've met since we split the libertarians and formed the paleolibertarian movement. It is a pleasure to meet brilliant, erudite, and principled scholars who *don't*, like most Libertarians, spend their time trying to argue with you on every conceivable topic on which you might disagree.

As a result, we and the paleocons have actually had the happy experience of learning from

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each other, and of growing together, or fusing into one paleo movement as swiftly and easily as by osmosis.

When we first formed the paleo alliance, we had the idea of writing a book, presenting "two sides," the libertarian and conservative, of each of a number of key issues, and then trying to arrive at a synthesis at the end of the book. But we all realized after only a few months of interchange, that the idea was obsolete. While of course there are inevitably nuanced differences among individuals, we suddenly realized that we were all on one side, all paleos together. It was a pleasure to find at last, that the old idea of a "community of scholars" who learn from each other and agree on truths is not just a dead cliche of universities but can actually be a living reality.

Recently, a veteran LP leader wrote to a friend, remembering that I had persuaded his generation, in my "Listen, YAF" article in 1969, to leave the conservative movement and to form a self-conscious libertarian movement. He notes wistfully that now I have apparently changed my mind.

I'll try one more time. The last few years have seen one of the most momentous events of the 20th century: the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union and therefore of the Cold War. My Old Right opposition to "perpetual war for perpetual peace" was always my prime reason for separation, a reason I never tried to conceal. The problem is that, with a few exceptions, modern libertarians have never cared tuppence about foreign policy, about war and peace. Hence, the general confusion among libertarians about my seeming change of heart.

A change in fundamental conditions often calls for a change in basic strategy. There's a new world out there, fellas, and it would be very odd if a radical transformation would *not* cause libertarians, as they should lead Americans, to rethink their foreign policy as well as their place in the ideological universe. The Right is no longer the pro-war monolith it had been since the late 1950s; there are many elements, especially the paleos, who are seeking to return to the spirit of the Old, pre-Buckley Right. That's what it's all about, Alfie; there's a new world out there. It's time to put aside your *Atlas Shruggeds* and come out and explore it. ■

The *New York Times*, Communism, and South Africa

by M. N. R.

It would of course, be absurd to call the *New York Times* in any sense pro-Communist. Absurd. Ridiculous. Daft. Surely not the

Murray N. Rothbard and Phyllis Schlafly at the Republican National Convention in Houston.

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Field Marshal of Establishment Left-Liberalism. And yet, and yet...

Take the recent thinkpiece in the Sunday *New York Times* (the day for thinkpieces) by top *Times*man Bill Keller, "South Africa's Communists Navigate a New Politics" (Sept. 20). The entire article is devoted to praising the merits, the intelligence, the downright *lovability*, of the Communist Party of South Africa, a possibly guiding powerhouse within the leftist African National Congress that is poised to take over the Republic of South Africa.

The article features the greatness of one Chris Hani, General Secretary of the South African CP, who, unlike most Communist leaders in our "post-Soviet world" is "not geriatric, irrelevant or former." Hani, whose picture is featured in the article—looking suitably young and thoughtful—has won an "enthusiastic young following" among blacks. Keller admits that the Communist Party exerts disproportionate influence within the ANC. Even though the CP has a membership of only 35,000 out of a million members in the ANC, somehow it has managed to acquire "at least" 10 of the 26 seats on ANC's national working committee, its main policy body. But Keller tries hard to trivialize this disproportion, attributing it to the nobility, the heroism of the CP leaders as individuals. The *Times*man quotes a South African political scientist that "the reason so many (Communists) have risen to leadership positions, is that they've done the fighting and dying. It's not necessarily their credentials as socialists." Well, whew! *That*'s a relief!

Besides, reports Keller, the CP has really been a *good* influence within the black movement in South Africa. "The Communists," Keller notes, "are generally credited with persuading the African National Congress to adopt a nonracial policy in the 1950's." Keller then quotes "Mr. Hani": "We contributed to the elimination of narrow nationalism, of South Africa for the blacks only," adding that "we also brought into the ANC the culture of militancy, of sacrifice."

Well, gee, those Commies are really wonderful, harmonious, noble, multiracial idealists, aren't they? What a lovable bunch! It's also remarkable how, under the *Times* gentle aegis, seventy-five years of butchery, of despotism, of enslavement, of mass murder of scores of millions on an unprecedented scale, all this monstrous record of world Communism, just simply washes away. History and memory disappear, and we are back in the most naive fantasies of the Western fellow travelers of the 1930's, those fools and liars who whitewashed the Communists' black record. More than a half-century after the lies of *New York Times* Soviet "expert' Walter Duranty about the Soviet Union, lies for which the *Times* has never deigned to apologize, all this guff that we had thought was gone is back—at least when the Commies possess a color that is politically correct.

Another piece of Keller naivete is his excited discovery that the CP of South Africa admits its past error, one of its top ideologists admitting that the Party had been too reflexive in supporting the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. "We are living down a sort of ignoble recent past," said this theoretician. Darn nice of him to rethink his "sort of ignoble" past, isn't it? Keller also notes that there are many factions within this small but highly influential CP, ranging from "neo-Stalinists" to "moderates" akin to the British Labor Party. Keller doesn't seem to realize that CP's almost always have many factions within them, *especially* when they are not in power.

And yet, despite this manifest moderation and lovability of the CP, the *Times*man laments that President de Klerk, from whom so much has been expected in his drive to divest the white regime of power, has, in recent weeks, gone back on this policy and has "hammered with rising fury at the theme of Communist influence." Why has de Klerk suddenly started worrying about Commies? This harks back to the September march of the ANC upon the autonomous black republic of Ciskei. The ANC, angry at the rule over Ciskei by the conservative black Brigadier Gqozo, has vowed to overthrow Gqozo, and organized the march on Ciskei's borders to step up the pressure and to threaten an invasion. President de Klerk is exercised by the fact that the march, which led Gqozo's troops to shoot and kill two dozen marchers in defense of their country, was led by the

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notorious militant Ronnie Kasrils, member of the governing committees of both the ANC and the Communist Party.

One would think that de Klerk had a point in worrying about Kasrils and the Communist influence. But not to Mr. Keller, who regards de Klerk's warnings as merely a cynical way to "sow division in the black alliance and frighten voters" away from supporting the ANC. And, of course, we wouldn't want any of *that*, would we?

The culmination of Keller's nonsensical position is to warn that de Klerk's strategy is "risky," for de Klerk, by "raising the Communist specter," will frighten off foreign investment and polarize the country. As if the specter of a leftist government with powerful Communists within it is not enough to scare foreign investors!

Keller concludes by discussing the relationship of ANC President Nelson Mandela, than whom there is no one more beloved in the Left-liberal press, with the Communist Party. Mandela, Keller assures us, is not a Communist; in fact, the ANC is getting ever more respectful of private property (Yeah, sure. Tell us another one, Bill.) But we have to realize that Mandela is "wedded to the Communists by personal and political loyalties" of half a century. Well sure, of course, good old loyal Nelson. And, in a particularly neat touch by Keller, Mandela's partnership with the Commies "helps protect (him) against charges... that he is drifting comfortably into compromise, forsaking his roots." Well, sure, we wouldn't want Mandela to forsake his militant Commie roots, now would we?

Besides, Keller ends wistfully, an ultimate split between the ANC and CP is inevitable. Communists seem more comfortable as "outsiders" than running the country (wanna bet, Bill?). and besides, the CP's "ultimate goal" is "an economy dominated by public ownership and large-scale redistribution of wealth."

No mention, of course, of murdering dissenters, totalitarianism, slave labor camps.

An interesting portrayal of Communism's "ultimate goal." No mention, of course, of murdering dissenters, totalitarianism, slave labor camps, and all the rest. No: just a little more socialism and redistributionism than Mandela or Keller would want. In short, Communists are wonderful, heroic, self-sacrificing idealists who want a bit more socialism than Mandela or Social Democrats, the Mensheviks on the *New York Times*.

There are several morals to this little tale. One is that, just because Communism disintegrated in the USSR and Eastern Europe does not mean that we should abandon our insights into the evils of Communism. There are still Commies around. In fact, the end of the Cold War makes "red-baiting" less dangerous because it can no longer be used as a cover for a warmongering, interventionist foreign policy, for a foreign policy designed to spread Social Democracy throughout the globe.

And secondly, Mr. Keller's piece is testimony to the fact that the illusions about Commies as heroic idealists, which we thought had died along with Duranty and the myth of the Chinese Communists as "agrarian reformers," are still all too prevalent.

And finally, if we needed yet another demonstration, that there is, down deep, not very much difference, after all, between Communism and Social Democracy, between Bolshevism and Menshevism. ■

Fear and Loathing in D.C.

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The horror! The horror! President Bush wants a 5% cut in the pay of bureaucrats making more than $75,000 a year.

It's a "major blow" to the "civil service," said Bruce Moyers, head of the Federal Managers Association, which

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"establishes a dangerous momentum."

Yes, it's a "dangerous momentum" to cut the pay for a cushy job at the Department of Education from $100,000 to $95,000, while taxpayers making $25,000 can't make ends meet because of high taxes.

Lobbyists like Mr. Moyers also grouse that any cut is unfair because of the "gap" between private and public pay, which the Office of Personnel Management claims is 28%. Like most of what comes out of Washington, that figure is make-believe. It's based on government job descriptions in which every file clerk is critical, and every supervisor holds the fate of the republic in his hands.

In fact, the assistant manager of an L.A. supermarket does far more work, and has far responsibility, than any "supergrade" in the upper reaches of D.C.

Another way we can know that the pay gap is preposterous: who would stay with the government if he could move to the private sector and get a 28% raise? (Of course, he'd have to work, but that's another story.)

Imagine that you started a business and offered 28% less pay than the going level. You wouldn't have any employees, at least any who could do the job. And the last time I looked, the government had about three million workers, with virtually no turnover except through retirement or death (both somewhat difficult to recognize in the typical federal office).

Why do federal workers stick around? Patriotism? No, it's because they get lots of money for little work. They also get posh pensions, rich medical benefits, lots of time off for sickness (and "sickness"), long vacations, automatic pay increases, taxpayer-subsidized lunches, and loose hours. Most important, they have a guaranteed lifetime job. It's almost impossible to be fired, no matter how lazy or incompetent you are, unless you blow the whistle on your fellow drones.

Why does the Depression-era Tennessee Valley Authority need 28,000 employees?

Five percent seems like an innocuous cut, but if Mr. Bush gets his way, he will set a record. No president since FDR has cut federal pay. (President Roosevelt, in the only good acts of his presidency, did so by 8.3% in 1933, and then by another 15%.)

Who should be cut first? In Dade County, Florida, people might pick the denizens of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Other Americans might choose the clerks at the Postal Service or the secretaries at HHS. But why discriminate? The whole government deserves a cut.

In the private sector, an employee's wages are determined by his contribution to the firm's output, i.e, the goods or services others want to buy. Thus the worker is rewarded to the extent that he serves the public—one of the glories of capitalism.

But there are few consumers of government services other than the special interests. No real American would spend his hard-earned pay on the Department of Energy, the Department of Commerce, or even NASA, without being forced to. The wages of government employees therefore bear no relation to output, nor could they. They are arbitrarily set by other bureaucrats, just as in the old Soviet Union.

That's why the President ought to think more broadly. Instead of cutting salaries, he should ask the Government Printing Office to churn out pink slips for the next few months (preparatory to shutting that typo-ridden agency down).

Why does the Depression-era Tennessee Valley Authority need 28,000 employees? Should we really have socialist electricity in 1992? HUD could surely get along on less than 13,000 workers, considering how few of them do anything. At least half of the 65,500 people at the Department of Transportation could be driving trucks or cabs. And what in the world does the Department of the Interior do with 78,000 bureaucrats? Let's get rid of just one zero.

At the height of the Great Depression, the federal government

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employed 83% fewer bureaucrats than it does now, which seems a good size to shoot for. (My own private goal is the constitutional government of 1816, with 4,837 employees.)

Only two years ago, Mr. Bush supported higher pay for the same top bureaucrats he now seeks to cut. Maybe, as on taxes, he's learned something. We'll know it when federal employees storm the White House—ten to four, with two hours off for lunch, of course. ■

The IOLTA Scam

by L.H.R., Jr.

If you used a lawyer recently, you may have also contributed to left-wing causes. Needless to say, you weren't told about it, and if your lawyer objects to being part of the transaction, he can be suspended.

How is this possible? Through IOLTA: Interest on Lawyers' Trust Accounts.

IOLTA is a scheme by which the dominant liberal elite in the legal profession siphons money from client funds and gives it to their pet political causes. While the client's money is the bank, it earns interest, and a portion of that interest is now put into IOLTA whether the individual lawyer, or the individual client, agrees or not.

IOLTA was invented to take the place of the Legal Services Corporation's funding of the left. When that came under attack from conservative Senators and Congressmen, people at the top of the legal profession began IOLTA to do the same work.

Today, 48 states and D.C. have IOLTA. Since its inception in 1978, more than half a billion dollars has been gleaned from unsuspecting clients. Created by various state bar associations to "help the poor" and other official victim groups, as usual, this meant stealing from the rest of us.

In California, IOLTA has funded Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD), the feminist Social Justice for Women, and the National Center for Youth Law, which fights parental consent for underage abortion. Other money has gone to the Disability Law Center, the Legal Clinic for the Homeless, and groups that help illegal aliens sue in American courts. All have cost the taxpayers a bundle.

In Massachusetts, funds have gone to redistricting groups that seek to decrease white representation in Congress and the state legislature. IOLTA also helped tear down the high admission standards of the Boston Latin School as "racist," and paid for lawsuits by the AIDS Law Project of GLAD.

IOLTA began in Florida as a voluntary program, but once powerful Democrats like Michael Dukakis got behind it, it spread and was made mandatory.

Why do conservative lawyers put up with this? Since the American Bar Association is behind the fund, they have to. Lawyers are threatened with suspension from the bar if they do not go along.

But, you might object, the money held by lawyers in this fashion actually belongs to the client. That's right, but since when has the left cared about property rights?

The few who have questioned the system include Professor Charles E. Rounds of Suffolk Law School and the Washington Legal Foundation. They've filed briefs to try to starve this liberal cash cow. Some have even said that IOLTA is a "taking" under the fifth amendment, and therefore unconstitutional. But the Supreme Court has twice refused to hear constitutional challenges.

A scandal? You bet, but it also tells us something about the nature of a monopoly profession protected by competition by government fiat. Arrogance is unbounded. Of course, there are many good lawyers, but since the legal profession is a government-created cartel, dissenters are often silenced.

What can be done about this racket? The state bars ought to be made to stop allocating client funds to left-wing causes without their consent, and publicity is the best way to do it.

Or we could consider a more radical solution: bust up the lawyer monopoly. It is now a crime to practice law without a license, although experienced legal secretaries and paralegals are capable of doing most of the work of the average lawyer, at about 25% of the cost.

Competition should be legal, and since these new free-market practitioners would not be members of the bar, they would not be subject to its left-wing strictures, and therefore not take clients' money without their consent.

If IOLTA comes under attack, we can expect all the usual

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rhetoric from the left. We will hear how this system helps the homeless, empowers minorities, aids the immigrants. But since these phrases are con words for ripping off the middle class, we can reject them out of hand.

Vice President Quayle has led the way in questioning his fellow lawyers. There are many reforms that need to be made, as he has pointed out, but I'd like to start with IOLTA. Until we do something about it, it actually stands for: Infuriatingly Officious Leftists targeting America. And haven't we had enough of that? ■

In fact, dollars didn't save Europe; freer markets did.

Thanks, Senate

by L.H.R., Jr.

In its unfailing generosity with our taxes, the U.S. Senate has approved the latest foreign aid bill, including $14.1 billion in cash to a host of governments and $22 billion in loan guarantees to the International Monetary Fund and Israel. This is more than the entire budget of the United Nations *and*—Ross Perot's net worth combined.

While we all know that the direct aid comes out of our pockets, the guarantees are ultimately paid by the taxpayer too. Not only do loan guarantees direct private capital into the government maw—a loss for the economy—but we pay the final tab as well. While it's true that some recipient governments have paid their bills in the past, they've done so only with additional foreign aid.

How can the Senate pass such an appropriation when most of America is in an economic depression? If families could make a choice between shipping their incomes overseas or paying their own bills, who can doubt what they'd choose? Yet the only controversy surrounding the legislation was the President's opposition to $20 million in U.N. population control. Bad as that is, it's only a drop in the red-ink ocean.

What happens to all this money? The official answer is economic development and humanitarian aid. But if anyone followed the trail of these dollars, he'd find them in the wallets of foreign politicians (who are then amenable to orders from the State Department) and well-connected U.S. businessmen.

Foreign aid usually requires that foreign governments spend some of their money on U.S. companies, those that have made the right political contributions. That's why big business—rather than Mother Theresa—lobbies for foreign aid.

During the Cold War, foreign aid was justified by anti-Communism. If these governments didn't get aid from the West, the logic went, they might look to Moscow for their checks.

My answer was always, so what? But now that the Cold War is over, U.S. aid still pours out to client states of every description.

Most new aid goes to the former republics of the Soviet Union. There is something ironic about this. American taxpayers paid billions for the Cold War. Now we are being told that the "peace dividend"—which should be ours through lower taxes—belongs to the ex-Soviet Union and its ex-communists.

We are always told about the Marshall Plan, which we are supposed to credit with Europe's current prosperity. In fact, dollars didn't save Europe; freer markets did.

In fact, foreign aid—by strengthening interventionist and even socialist governments—hampers economic growth. It is no coincidence that Chile saw an explosion of prosperity when it was tossed off the U.S. payroll, and had to free its markets as a result.

The best thing that the U.S. government can do for the former republics of the U.S.S.R. is: nothing. Forced to make their own way, these governments would have to shrink their bureaucracies, privatize property, cut spending and taxes, and allow freedom of contract. As long as Western

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dollars support the ruling class, there is no incentive for change.

U.S. businessmen should, of course, keep their eyes peeled for business opportunities in these emerging economies, but not at the expense of the American taxpayer. Only unsubsidized, and therefore unpoliticized, foreign investment will help these countries reap the benefits of capitalism.

That doesn't mean Western standards of living will arrive overnight. The accumulation of capital takes time, as does the establishment of the rule of law and the uprooting of the communists who still dominate these countries.

The press makes fun of pork barrel projects in Wyoming and West Virginia, but given the choice, shouldn't we send the money there than Egypt or Bosnia? The best idea, of course, is freedom: letting Americans keep their own money.

Forgive my "isolationism," but isn't time we started worrying first about economic development in America? ■

PC Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

The Hairless

"Vanity's latest conquest is the hairy man," says Cathy Horyn in the *Washington Post*. Bodybuilders are now waxing or shaving their "backs, shoulders, chests, even buttocks." Since Calvin Klein's ads show gay bodybuilders who've shaved, everyone wants to look like that, says *GQ* model editor, Juliette Fellemann. "We wouldn't ask a guy to shave if he had, you know," blonde hair, but if it's "dark, thick, and overgrown, well, that's pretty gross." As "the line between masculinity and femininity continues to blur," says Horyn, men may "look at their body hair with increasing disdain."

On the other hand, historian Alexander Walker wrote more than a hundred years ago that clean-shaven times were marked by "general effeminacy" and therefore the "decline and fall of states." A popular pamphlet had the immediately persuasive title of "Beard-Shaving and the Common Use of the Razor: An Unnatural, Irrational, Unmanly, Ungodly, and Fatal Fashion Among Christians."

"Beard-Shaving and the Common Use of the Razor: An Unnatural, Irrational, Unmanly, Ungodly, and Fatal Fashion Among Christians."

Insults Justify Death?

The question of whether white motorist Reginald Denny, brutally beaten by black gang members during the L.A. riots, "yelled racial slurs to provoke his attackers" is now the media focus, rather than the beating itself.

Denny had 96 skull fractures—including brain damage, an eye being knocked out of its socket, and his teeth being driven up into his sinuses—as well as many other wounds.

The gang members claim he yelled "racial epithets." Any lone white guy would when he's surrounded by a mob of armed and angry blacks.

But even if he had, how would this be a justification? Could a white mob brutalize a defenseless, unconscious black if he had made anti-white remarks?

The Truce

Remember that we were supposed to be glad about the truce between the two black L.A. gangs, the Crips and the Bloods? Twenty-thousand murderers agreeing not to shoot each other? Only the innocent? Well, now the L.A. police confirm that "gang members may not be killing each other," but they are killing, raping, assaulting, robbing, and burglarizing at—if anything—an increased rate.

Hazy History

A new rap song by Public Enemy, "Hazy Shade of Criminal," features photos of two lynched blacks and Chuck D, the group's leader, "crucified" on the fence of the White House.

The two blacks were killed, explains D in the liner notes, for "b.s. that they didn't do based on cracker racism, jealousy, envy, and greed." Mike Tyson too was "hanged in the same goddamn way. Some things never change. Free Mike Tyson" and "all the hundreds

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of thousands of black men and women who are political prisoners in the jail cells of the United Snakes of Amerikkka."

According to the *Washington Post*, there were, in U.S. history, 4,743 lynchings, 3,446 of them of blacks. Ironically, more than 3,500 whites are now shot, stabbed, or otherwise "lynched" by black criminals in the U.S. *every year*.

Animal Olympians

"Our Sincere Apology" was the headline on a *Boston Globe* story of August 23rd. The previous day, a large photo of a black high-jumper had been used to illustrate a PBS NOVA Special entitled "Animal Olympians." "Witness the speed, stamina, and strength of animals in this breathtaking celebration of nature's champions," ran the copy. "We apologize to those who rightly called to express anger about the advertisement," said the *Globe*.

A Rightist Ideological Putsch?

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, professor of English at Duke University, has long been Ms. PC. Recently, reports the *Washington Times*, she spoke at the University of Oregon on "Fascism(s): roots/extensions/replays." "Through raucously orchestrated, electronically amplified campaigns of mock-incredulous scorn, intellectual and artistic as well as political possibilities, skills, ambitions and knowledges have been laid waste with a relishing wantonness," she said. With an "overarching history of anti-intellectualism" and "a rightist ideological putsch," the "American intellectual right has added to this hackneyed populist *ressentiment*" an "iridescent oil slick of elitist self-regard."

"Trying to invoke every available cognitive and institutional affordance for reflection, speculation, experimentation, contradiction, embroidery, daring, textual aggression, textual delight, double entendre, close reading, free association, wit—the family of creative activities that might, for purposes of brevity, more simply be called *thought*—they yet stake their claim as the only inheritors, defenders and dispensers of a luscious heritage of thought that most of them would allow to be read only in the dead light of its pieties and exclusiveness." Damn right!

"I'm Identical to a Boy"

Women professors at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, have denounced the new "Barbie Teen Talk" doll that, among other phrases, says "Math class is tough." This "reinforces the stereotype" that girls don't do as well at math as boys, said the profs.

Super Sane

Superman is supposed to be killed in a forthcoming issue of Superman Comic Books. That's OK. But it's not OK for the Man of Steel to be done in by a "superlunatic" called Doomsday. This is "stereotyping at its worst," and "makes life more difficult for the mentally ill," said Daniel J. McCarthy, Mental Health Commissioner for Massachusetts.

Hate?

Andrew Ward described America between D.C. and San Francisco in the *Washington Post* as "posse comitatus territory" peopled by "pill-popping truckers, sun-struck bikers, disaffected gun-rack farm boys, step-van serial killers, and wall-eyed, born-again trailer park patriarchs." Ward was described as a writer for National Public Radio, but any of us who listen to what is actually National Anti-White (Male) Radio wouldn't have to be told.

Inquiry Stifled

Thanks to left-libertarian shrink Peter Breggin, who told the Congressional Black Caucus and the NAACP that it would be "like Nazi Germany," the University of Maryland cancelled a scientific conference on whether, in the words of columnist Bruce Fein, "particular genetic configurations may predispose individuals to crime."

"We're concerned," said George Buntin, head of the Baltimore NAACP, "that there is a move on the part of some people to relate crime to the African-American community, and to say that there are ingrained or genetic reasons why we are more prone to crime than others.... People used to say there are genetic reasons why African-Americans are not as literate as European-Americans, and it's hogwash."

"The views of Mr. Breggin, Mr. Buntin, and the Black Caucus betray intellectual flabbiness and fright," wrote Fein, "a virtual death knell for understanding crime and other problems that may disproportionately plague the black community."

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The conference, interestingly enough, did not concern race, but whether there was a certain genetic makeup could predispose individuals to crime. "Opposition," said Fein, "was clearly prompted by the fear that it might reveal unpalatable truths." Yet similar inquiries, into a possible genetic predisposition to homosexuality, for example, "have not provoked attempts at censorship."

More than 3,500 whites are now shot, stabbed, or otherwise "lynched" by black criminals in the U.S. *every year.*

PC Price Controls

Alexandria, Virginia, has joined D.C. and Fairfax County in threatening to destroy any dry-cleaner who charges more for a woman's blouse than a man's shirt. Women's blouses are generally much smaller, and therefore do not fit on the mechanical pressers dry-cleaners use—thus the extra charge. But no discrimination is allowed, says the Human Rights Commission.

40 Acres and a Mule?

Blacks have "give America her culture, her music, and her margin of profit," said D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelley at a Congressional Black Caucus panel, but we are "still waiting for the 40 acres and a mule we were promised."

Riots, she said, were caused by so much poverty "so many years after the Voting Rights Act." As reported in a *Washington Times* story by Ralph Z. Hallow, black Congresswoman Maxine Waters (Dem.-Cal.) introduced three "ex"-gang members as "three friends, brothers, who are leaders in my community." Reggie complained that "when they bring us jobs, it's (only) ten, but there are 500 gang members." Reggie, High-T, and Chopper later boasted to a reporter that they had killed 30 men between them.

Bad Vibrations

Time Warner, that fount of culture, publishes a new magazine for rap and hip-hop fans called *Vibe*. The first publication of the company to make liberal use of "motherfucker," it is defended by executive Gilbert Rogin: "The music is urgent" and you can't "write about it in a way that neuters it."

The most controversial part of the magazine is that its editor, Jonathan Van Meter, is "white and openly gay," says the *Washington Post*. Russell Simmons of Def Jam Recordings and manager of Public Enemy, Run D.M.C., and L.L. Cool J, denounced *Vibe* for being too white. Worse, "they didn't hire one straight black man to work on the magazine." Record producer Quincy Jones says that's irrelevant. "Either the dude is bad or he's not. Either you can burn or you can't." Van Meter, "he knows what's up."

The first issue has features on "white people who think they're black," performers and their tattoos, "an amusing history of female rappers dissing each other," and "a feminist critique of Sir Mix-a-Lot's salute to steatopygia, 'Baby Got Back.'"

Donuts in Newark

Newark, New Jersey, has become the car theft capital of America as "poor, young black men," says the *New York Times*, steal cars to crash as entertainment. Every day, people are killed or seriously injured by the crazily driven stolen cars, but a 15-year-old named Monk says he doesn't care: "I drive, crash a couple of them, and go get some more."

A 13-year-old named Sal Dog steals a Hyundai and "five minutes later it's a heap of smoking, dented metal. Children run from it with floor mats and a container of anti-freeze." Says Sal Dog: "It feels good. You get this feeling like you are scared, like you feel high, like you're going to top over." There's nothing wrong with it, "because we take from other races."

Sometimes the cars are stolen to sell. Marie Sparks, the mother of a recently paroled car thief, defended her son and his friends. "This society is all about money. If you don't have any, you will do anything to get some. How can you blame them?"

The head of the local NAACP diagnoses the problem as "our

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kids have nothing to do. There is so much energy within our young people" and "in Newark they don't have the proper outlets for all this energy." But Keekee, a 15-year-old, says "I don't want a job. I just want to have fun" stealing cars. An 11-year-old boy dreams of the days when he can steal cars, and he has already picked out the one he wants to take first: a 5.0 liter Ford Mustang.

Every night, teenage thieves gather all over Newark for "car shows." On one popular spot on Muhammad Ali Avenue, "stolen cars from all over the region are brought to be spun, raced, and often banged and crashed, to the delight of their drivers, fellow thieves, and hangers-on along the sidewalk."

Popular stunts include "donuts," spins which leave wide, oval tire marks on the pavement, "backward threes," three tight, fast spins while driving backwards, and "riding ghost," driving at night with no lights. "It gets you suped," said Rahlude, a 13- year-old thief. It "just makes you be happy."

Blacks have "given America her culture, her music, and her margin of profit."

Jeffrey Fagan, a criminal justice professor at Rutgers, blames the car thefts on the fact that "these are angry young men and this behavior is a chance to get back at people making them angry. By and large, they can't own cars." Especially the 11 and 13-year-olds.

More Eco-Baloney

From a *Wall Street Journal* letter by Burton J. Simpson of Las Vegas: "John A. Baden's June 2 editorial page article, 'Species Preservation Without Tears,' was the standard pap" from "environmental organizations." The claim is that man causes species extinction, and this must be stopped for the sake of the earth's health. "About 75 million years ago," mountains began to form, "causing four iceages and the extinction of many species. Ever since, the earth's species have been under stress, and in the process of adaption or extinction. For man to try to alter" this "is most futile, and will only delay the inevitable. However, Mr. Baden tells us how we can solve his problem: through increased taxes to buy up private property to put into the hands" of private organizations. "He says this will 'spread [the costs] over the public at large.' You bet it will."

Poor Baby

The *Wall Street Journal* says that "Urban Consumers Pay More and Get Less." The example was a welfare mother in Chicago. She was not, said the *Journal*, getting good prices on her new "TV/VCR combination" or her new microwave, upholstery, and leather coat. Or on the most expensive phone option package offered by Illinois Bell or on her two cable hook-ups and three movie channels. ■

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